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Has Our Moment Arrived?

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Pat Buchanan's extraordinary surge in the Republican nomination process provides us with many reasons to be optimistic—and Beltway conservatives every reason to throw in the towel. The pallid consensus of Buckleyite-neocon conservatism has been smashed, and, after years of intellectual activism, the Old Right is back.

The catalyst for the Old Right's return has been the middle-class recognition that our living standards are declining and show no prospect of stopping their decline, let alone improving. For the first time in modern history, families with two and three incomes are more typical than not. Married women can no longer afford to raise their own children. And white men's wages are falling faster than any other population group.

Added to these trends the criminal wave, the collapse of community, worsening race conflict, and the displacement of bourgeois property holders, and we have the makings of a real social crisis, brought on entirely by government policy (centralization, inflation, regulation, civil rights, and taxation account for the bulk of it). All these facts were suppressed by the conservative elites for fear they would ignite a social revolution.

For years Republican think tanks have chosen not to address these core problems, but rather ground away on long and boring studies written in the Fabian tradition. They have promoted their pet heroes—Bill Bennett, Newt Gingrich, Dick Armey, Jack Kemp—and their pet programs: subsidies for private schools, trade treaties, subsidized immigration, budget shenanigans, and tax shuffling.

All this was directed towards one goal: not saving American prosperity and freedom, or creating a mass movement that would threaten central power, but toward making their version of conservatism beloved in Washington, New York, and the media. So they sought to bring about liberal social goals (equality, uplift for the poor, "access" to education, and the like) and to preserve the military-industrial state long after it had outlived whatever usefulness it had.

At the same time, these conservatives sought to exclude all "extremist" thought that questions any received doctrine. Libertarians, paleoconservatives, non-interventionists and all their affiliated hard-right members—the principled people who see the central state as the enemy—have been marginalized and denounced.

Thus, official conservatism is little more than a variant of the social-democratic consensus. Official conservatives want higher budgets for the Pentagon and fewer grants for pornographic artists than official liberals. But on issues like foreign aid, the federal budget, taxes, environmentalism, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, American troops in foreign coun-

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P.C. Watch

California Testin'

Teacher Sara MacNeil Boyd flunked the California Basic Education Skills Test (CBEST) four times. Although she was still made acting principal of a high school—passing was required for permanent appointment—she joined a class-action lawsuit seeking to abolish the test as a racist civil-rights violation, because it amounts to an illegal IQ exam.

The test, which is multiple choice, scores reading and math on an eighth-grade level. New teachers must get a "marginal-pass" to be hired, and present teachers must pass it to be promoted.

In her trial testimony, Boyd said the test was the reason that only eight out of eighty teachers at her school were black. "Oh, ten percent," said the lawyer questioning her. "No," she answered. "What percentage of 80 is

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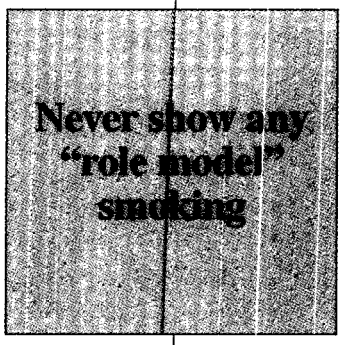
eight?" asked the lawyer. Boyd was silent for 40 seconds, then said, "Can you rephrase that?" The question was rephrased, and she answered, "That's about 1%." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2/8-2/9/96).

Police Discrimination

A New Jersey state trooper says he was fired because he is black, and has therefore brought a civil rights suit against the state. It seems that the ex-officer was "found in an unmarked police car in Newark dressed only in women's underwear, stockings, and black wig," with women's makeup on his face. He showed his badge and ID to two cops who spotted him in the back seat of the police car at 2:45am and said "he was working undercover to help a friend who had AIDS." A clear case of "racism," says the ex-trooper (*Trenton Record*, 12/17/95), who is demanding "monetary damages."



Mrs. Aristide

Ex-priest and ex-president Jean Bertrand Aristide of Haiti recently got married, and as a result is not as popular as he once was. Why? Because people still see him as a priest? No, it's "Mr. Aristide's choice of a light-skinned wife," even though he is "dark-skinned." His followers see it as a "betrayal" (*New York Times*, 1/21/96).

Our Wellspring, Which Art in Heaven

A popular Catholic hymnal has replaced "Good Christian Men Rejoice" with "Good Christian Friends Rejoice." But it's worse (so far) in the United Church of Christ. Its new hymnal makes "every effort to ensure that all hymns spoke to and for all God's people equally," said the chairman of the hymn committee.

"This resulted in the examination of language from racial, ethnic, and sociocultural perspectives, and the review of language that could be diminishing to people with physical disabilities." Comments and hymns were solicited from "communities of Asian Americans, Native Americans, African-Americans, and Latinos/Latinas."

As to inclusive language, "traditional masculine titles for God" have been replaced, says the *New York Times* (1/6/96). "The book is rich in 'Fountain,' 'Wellspring,' 'Rock,' and 'Fire.'" "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind" is now "Dear God, Embracing Humankind."

Smokeless

One of the unwritten rules of present-day journalism is never to show any "role model" smoking. So when the *New York Times Magazine* published a great photo of the late Ginger Rogers (12/31/95), it airbrushed out—or whatever the computer-graphics equivalent is—the cigarette she was so elegantly flourishing in her left hand.

Late-Night TV

CBS has fired its vice president for late-night programming because he told producers of a potential show that they needed to make their offering more appealing to blacks. Blacks, he said, are a large part of the late-night audience because "it's free" and "they have no jobs to go to in the morning and can stay up late." He also said that blacks liked comedy better than drama, because its plots were "too complicated for them." (*New York Post*, 1/17/96, *New York Times*, 2/2/97)■

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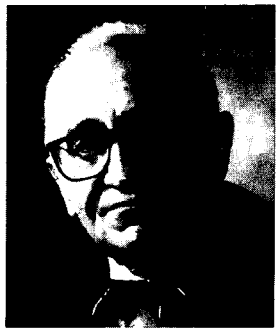
tries, the welfare state, the warfare state, the corporate state, and the Federal Reserve, there has been very little difference, other than the language each group uses to defend the status quo. Certainly neither offers a coherent explanation for our current plight or a way out.

I. The Crackup Begins

The smashing of this consensus, which began with the collapse of the Cold War, continued with the November 1994 elections. Voters engaged in an all-out assault on Washington and its works, and elected 73 freshmen who, for the most part, were unconnected to the elites of either the right or the left.

The freshmen were businessmen and professionals who chose to give up (temporarily) their chosen occupations, in order to tear up Washington root and branch. For the most part, they have done well, serving as ambassadors sent by the people to restore constitutional government, not as representatives of the Leviathan sent to control the voters. They were united among themselves and with the people in one central proposition: the present regime is bad for Americans, and



Dean of the Austrian School of economics, founder of modern libertarianism, and restorer of the Old Right, Murray N. Rothbard (1926-1995) was a one-man army of liberty. The *RRR* is inspired by his spirit, and dedicated to his vision.

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must be ended before peace and prosperity can be restored.

The official conservatives were taken aback by this development. They were heavily invested in Gingrich and the rest of the Republican leadership, and hoped that they didn't need to bother with the freshmen or the social forces that brought them into power. They, and the American people, could be fooled, the leadership hoped, by the meaningless Contract With America.

Then, right after the election, Gingrich and Dole slipped Gatt through a lame-duck Congress, and began brokering deals for the Mexican government and the New York banks.

It took six months or longer, but the better freshmen began to realize that the worst vote they had cast was electing Newt the sellout as speaker. Some have since also sold out, while those who have stuck to principle have watched as their revolution was betrayed by their own leadership. The question that remained was whether the revolution had also been discredited in the minds of Republican voters and the general public.

Would there be a swing back to the political middle, led by the well-funded *Weekly Standard*, and would the neoconservatives reassume their traditional role of smothering Old Right radicalism? Asked another way, would the populist-oriented, anti-government, anti-New World Order revolt prove to be little more than a flash in the pan?

In this primary season, we have our answers, and it is emphatically, no. The revolt against the official conservatives and their system has not only continued, it has sharpened in focus and become even more bold. Today, it threatens to sweep all before it.

II. The Buchanan Factor

To his great credit, Pat Buchanan has had very little if any connection to conventional conservatism, either institutionally or ideologically. The neocon foundations have always despised him. Washington policy wonks have tut-tutted every time his name has come up. He's never spoken at any D.C. think-tank's banquet.

Every official conservative publication attacked him in 1991 and 1992 as a racist, reactionary, anti-Semite, homophobe, isolationist, bully, etc. Not only did that campaign fail, it ended up strengthening Pat. After all, his support has always come from outside the Beltway: his TV audience, his readers, and now the activists and voters who want to see him become president.

Pat courageously stood up for Proposition 187 in California.

Neither has he sought to develop a power base within the upper reaches of the Republican Party. It's true that he worked for Nixon and Reagan, but always in an advisory rather than a policy-making capacity. Republican presidents called upon him when they needed a great writer, not when they wanted a fixer.

When Pat asked to speak at the Republican convention in 1992, the party elite agreed only because they feared a November reprisal if they refused. But since Pat is also the most eloquent speaker the Republicans have—and the only one to write his own speeches—his talk defined the convention, and remains its one memorable moment. As always, he bypassed the party's managers and the official conservative movement, and spoke directly to the people with a message that connected with their daily experience.

This independence has allowed him to take positions that have never been mentioned in the publications and conferences of the New York/Washington conservative movement, or even within the high-level management of the Republican Party itself. For example, he courageously stood up for Proposition 187 in California, which would have cut off welfare benefits to illegal aliens had not a usurping federal judge intervened (something else he intends to fix).

Now, you wouldn't think that a pro-Prop. 187 position would be controversial among supposedly anti-welfare official conservatives. But *all* the Beltway think tanks denounced the measure as racist and isolationist, terms which grass-roots activists have come to regard as meaning "worthy of support."

In Pat's presidential campaign, he continues—alone among national politicians—to uphold a principled stand on this issue. Indeed, at a time when the costs to taxpayers and the culture of mass immigration have grown to astronomical levels, and the demographics mirror domestic affirmative-action legislation, he has said that open borders represent an utterly irresponsible policy. He favors blocking all illegal immigration, with a fence if necessary, and wants a five-year moratorium on all legal immigration as well: long enough to sock it to the elites who see high Third-World immigration as the fast track to their sort of social revolution.

Republicans at the grass roots have always been strongly opposed to gun control. But at the highest level of the movement, it's different. Bill Buckley writes in favor of handgun confiscation, and during the Bush presidency, Bill Bennett schemed to ban the importation of certain varieties of guns which he, like the liberals, incorrectly called "assault weapons." Bush was glad to go along.

Pat, on the other hand, has taken a consistent stand for gun rights. He even asked Larry Pratt of the Gun Owners of America, a lib-

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ertarian-oriented activist for the right to bear arms, to be one of several co-chairmen of his campaign.

Gun Owners of America has never received as much attention as the National Rifle Association, but the GOA is far more hardcore and hardworking. You won't see Larry at a Cato lecture series, but no one stands up for the liberties and property rights of American gun owners with as much passion and effectiveness.

Pat's embrace of Larry has generated controversy, of course, and the effort to smear Larry as a white supremacist might have been a new low for the media. CNN, followed by every mainstream news organization in the country, reported that Larry had spoken at a couple of conferences where members of the Aryan Nations and the Christian Identity movement had also appeared.

Liberals used to denounce such tactics as "guilt by association." Somehow, when guns are involved (as opposed to communists), the maneuver becomes responsible reporting.

Pat's response reminded his supporters why they love him. At the final New Hampshire debate, he addressed the subject of Larry in his closing statement and blasted the media, calling Larry a friend who has stuck by him when the heat was on. He said the attack was not only baseless and absurd (Larry speaks to hundreds of groups every year) but also politically motivated.

As another example of his independence, Pat has a solution to judicial tyranny: he advocates term limits for all the federal dictators in black robes, including the members of the Supreme Court. Such limits could lead to the end of court-ordered social engineering schemes against our schools and neighborhoods, court-ordered tax increases, and a host of other modern judicial tyrannies, such as the blocking of Prop. 187.

The conservative elites hate the idea, of course. Robert Bork reacted in horror when I suggested it to him once. And the most famous legal group among conservatives, Clint Bolick's Institute for Justice, regards the federal judiciary as the only means of liberation from the real threat, "grass-roots tyranny."

Pat has also demanded cuts in the inheritance tax. As he understands, it is essential that families and family wealth be built up for more than one generation. Private dynasties, big and small, strengthen society, and form an effective counter force to tyranny.

Today, no coincidence, the feds force families to break up inherited farms and businesses to pay the tax. This creates, on the margin, a disincentive to save for future generations, an incentive to spend it now, and a general sense of deracination. Therefore, as Pat points out, we must cut the inheritance tax and let justly earned property stay in the family.

What other presidential candidate—since Robert Taft, anyway—has shown such courage and discernment?

On foreign policy, Pat has opposed every intervention since the end of the Cold War, including Iraq, Haiti, Somalia, and Bosnia. Bring the troops home has been his rallying cry. This stand, more than any other, is what makes the neocons crazy. For their conservatism is a stalking horse for democratic globalism.

Pat has criticized the U.S. entry into World War I, which turned a limited European war into an historic disaster for Western civilization, leading to the destruction of the stabilizing monarchies of Europe, the Bolshevik takeover of Russia, and ultimately the Nazi takeover of Germany. And Justin Raimondo reports that Pat has even said, in a discussion about the start of World War II, that Japan was not entirely at fault, agreeing with the Old Right analysis of Franklin D. Roosevelt as warmonger. What other presidential candidate—since Robert Taft, anyway—has shown such courage and discernment?

Then there's the trade issue. In 1993 and 1994, Pat bravely opposed Nafta and Gatt. Though advertised as free trade, Nafta set up supranational boards, expanded bad laws to the entire region, gave billions in direct subsidies to Mexico, benefitted government-connected big businesses and hurt small and medium-size firms, and linked the dollar to the peso via a "stabilization" fund, thus foreordaining the $50 billion bailout of Mexico.

Almost alone in politics, Pat has highlighted the Mexican bailout as an example of the corruption of the present politico-economic system. In rally after rally, he has exposed the decisive role that Dole, Gingrich, Kissinger, and Greenspan played in channeling American tax dollars to the big banks in New York. It's been many years since we've had a national political leader as sound on the financial machinations of the elites.

Everyone knows that Nafta's been an economic disaster. But it's also given the idea of free trade a black eye. Today, almost every national politician speaks against free trade, which is to say, in favor of restricting the rights of American producers and consumers to trade. A terrible trend, to be sure, but whose responsibility is it? Not Pat Buchanan's, who often pointed out in 1993 that Nafta was not authentic free trade, noting that the Mises Institute and two analysts from the Competitive Enterprise Institute op-

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posed it as vehemently as the Naderites.

No, the foundering of free trade doctrine is the fault of the official conservative and libertarian think tanks, magazines, and pundits, who for reasons of cash and respectability, joined the "Nafta Network" and compromised every principle of liberty.

The Gatt debate of 1994 was a repeat. Here was a trade deal that was openly touted, along with the IMF and the World Bank, as the third pillar of the New World Order. As early as the Wilson administration, and continuing through Truman, the establishment had worked for a solution to this supposed problem: the international trading system is unmanaged by any central government.

Unmanaged, the world trading system is the best example of how private businesses and consumers can fulfill their economic ambitions absent supranational regulations and taxes. Cross-border trade works the way a free society should: it runs itself without arrogant managers at the top interfering with the private plans and contracts of property owners.

The World Trade Organization was designed to change all that. It would extend the glories of government planning internationally. Its preamble endorsed Keynesian fiscal policy and ILO-style labor restrictions, and made no reference at all to free trade in the classical tradition. It was and is an organization for world economic management by government.

But which government? The U.S. planned to install Carlos Salinas, after his term as president of Mexico, as general secretary of the WTO. But the peso crisis, the political murders, the vast corruption, and the drug scandals made that impossible.

Salinas deserved no better fate, and neither did the U.S. negotiators of Gatt. The *Wall Street Journal*, which touted Salinas as a great statesman and Nafta as the deal of the century, even named him to its board of directors. How does he attend the meetings, since, as Pat points out, he's "on the lam" in Cuba?

Why did the U.S. (and the *Journal*) want Salinas to be head of the WTO in the first place? Because he's always been a tool of the U.S. government, and his mission at the WTO was to run it on behalf of the North American trading bloc.

The foundering of free trade doctrine is the fault of the official conservative and libertarian think tanks.

Some observers were confused as to why the U.S. government seemed to favor both regional protectionism (Nafta) and multilateral trade treaties (Gatt). After all, you either trade with the world or you don't. But when you see the WTO as an extension of Nafta, and as an assertion of North American, or, more precisely, U.S. government power, everything falls into place.

The end result of these trade debates was to leave the pro-treaty forces with *huevos* on their faces. Every one of their predictions ended up being false. These treaties didn't make trade freer—and even if they had, it would have been the wrong means to a worthy end—but only built up structures of global government oppression.

Despite our best efforts—genuine free traders worked tirelessly to get the truth out—the treaties continue to retain the title of "free trade." The result has been what we feared: the discrediting of the classical ideal of the free movement of goods, probably for some time. And that tragedy is courtesy of the Nafta Network and the Gang of Gatt.

Pat rightly calls for an immediate pullout from these trade treaties. As the only candidate who opposed them—in defiance of the conservative elites—he has made opposing the New World Order almost mainstream. That would have been unimaginable a few years ago. Let's hope the IMF, the World Bank, and the UN are next.

Old Right libertarians should take great pleasure in these developments, for there is nothing in this Buchanan platform that even an anarcho-capitalist couldn't support. But there's another aspect to Pat's campaign, and we'll discuss it, and its possible impact on the right and the economy, after dealing with the other candidates to have exposed some of the fault lines in the conservative movement.

III. The Forbes Factor

From all appearances, the neocons should have loved Steve Forbes. His platform seemed in line with theirs. Certainly he expected support from the very people who have backed Jack Kemp, and, before him, Reagan, for the presidency. At least Steve could have reasonably expected no opposition.

Instead he was attacked during his surge, and even after his poll numbers were low enough to be non-threatening. Why? It wasn't for the silly, Kempite part of his platform. After all, even the *New York Times* has long since come around on such piecemeal neocon reforms as school choice (if only among public schools), enterprise zones (renamed empowerment zones by Clinton), and Congressional term limits (the liberals would love to limit the terms of the freshmen). Why then did his entry into the race draw such opposition?

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Ostensibly, because Steve was spending his own money, thus attempting to "buy the election," and, the crime of the century, running "negative ads." But among voters, the Perot effect kicked in: Steve's wealth was not a magnet for envy but instead suggested he couldn't be bought. And his negative ads simply told the truth about the pro-tax records of Dole and Gramm.

No, the problem was, as the *New York Times* openly worried, that Steve might be as independent a president as he has been as a candidate. Thus the *Weekly Standard*, the official voice of neocons, ran three vicious attacks on Steve in just one issue before the Iowa caucuses. The editors made fun of his wealth, his upbringing, and his manner of speech and behavior, while still pining for Colin Powell.

Forbes called for a gold standard, while neocons—like left-liberals and left-populists—like fiat-money inflation.

While Steve's platform was mostly yesterday's neoconish, his decision to enter the race was his own, he wasn't controlled by institutionalized neocondom, and he therefore didn't reflect their newest policy interests. He emphasized tax cuts, while the neocons are now promoting "compassion" for poor blacks. That's why Kemp refused to endorse him. Steve even called for a gold standard, while the neocons—like left-liberals and left-populists—are at peace with fiat-money inflation.

Steve was not good on foreign policy (he opposed Bosnia but wanted to arm the Muslims); he also displayed evident non-interest in the subject, a sure killer among neocons. More generally, while the supply-siders float around the edges of neocondom, they are not insiders. Even Jude Wanniski, the brilliant and cranky economics consultant who persuaded Steve to run, is not trusted by the Kristol crowd, partly for his enthusiastic support of Perot in 1992. (Perot, be it remembered, was compared to Hitler by the left-neocon flagship, the *New Republic*.)

Most important, Steve's flat-tax was a low-tax that ignored the Washington rule of "revenue neutrality" (and therefore the idea that the government's income must never be allowed to fall). Not even Pat has questioned that rule. Any candidate who understands that taxes must be lowered deserves a second look. For taxes are the price we pay for tyranny.

Steve also spoke up aggressively in favor of free enterprise, economic growth, and the rights of business not be oppressed by the government. And he understands that it is impossible to have a growing economy and also deny American business the ability to trade its wares outside the border. In short, he is a free trader, as well he should be, if he favors liberty, property, and prosperity.

Most important, Steve seemed to have a good grasp of economics, which is crucial, if not central, for any president, and he was praised for this by Joe Sobran in his syndicated column, and even by the much-reviled populist newspaper *Spotlight*. Meanwhile, all the New York-Washington conservatives began to see Forbes as dangerous, a man with independent motivations for running and an independent base of money and publicity.

Then what happened to the Forbes candidacy? He made two crucial mistakes: his flat tax proposal wasn't limited to lowering rates; he also called for the repeal of the housing-mortgage deduction and the charitable-giving deduction.

Steve claimed that the increased taxes owed by the homeowner and givers would be more than offset by the lower rates and the high-income threshold for filing taxes at all. That's true, but Republican voters have been burned too many times by candidates promising lower taxes in one place and higher taxes in another. Given the way Washington works, we'd get the higher taxes but not the cuts.

In television ads in Iowa, Dole hammered Steve on this issue. But it was Dole's secret phone calls to caucus goers, and the Forbes campaign's response, that caused Steve's support to enter a free fall. Dole's callers were telling voters that Forbes was pro-choice on abortion (not true) and, worse, that he owned a photo taken by Robert Mapplethorpe. It was a smart political move by the Dole forces, even if the photo was not a dirty one, but a landscape inherited from his father.

But it was the response by Steve's spokesman that did the most damage. In a line worthy of People for the American Way, he said the "Christian Coalition doesn't represent the view of all Christians." It's true, of course, but it was taken as a sneer—a la Geraldine Ferraro—at the religious right. Forbes's people, being mostly from the Northeast business sector, didn't know how to deal with middle-American Christians. Steve's campaign faltered and fell apart.

Meanwhile, Pat Buchanan criticized the Forbes flat tax for increasing the deficit by "billions," i.e. for being an actual tax cut. And people living off investment income, Pat complained, "would never again pay a dime in income taxes for the defense of [their] country," even though income taxes are evil, "defense" means foreign wars and industrial socialism, and they've paid a bundle otherwise.

Pat also said the Forbes plan

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must have been drafted "after a bibulous evening with the boys down at the yacht basin." But it can never be good for the right to attack wealth as such, especially when it is justly gained through family inheritance (Pat wants to cut inheritance taxes) and hard work (Steve has improved both his magazine and its circulation).

Regardless, as Steve entered New Hampshire, he had been successfully painted as insensitive to religious conservatives. This was unfortunate, since he had said his 17 percent tax rate was a only a beginning. And while he said it probably wasn't possible to have the tax equivalent of "zero emissions," as wonderful as that would be, he wanted them to be as low as possible. Nothing could do the American family more good. A family of four would be exempt from all taxes, under Steve's plan, for its first $36,000 of income, and the heck with the government's spending plans.

Steve was also courageous on Social Security, and the only candidate to have seriously addressed the subject. His plan to allow young workers to opt out of the program would have been the beginning of a desperately needed reform, while his call for a gold standard might have weakened the iron grip that the Federal Reserve has over the economy.

Though he will not be president, —and Pat will— Steve proved to be a constructive entry into the campaign. And his experience reminds us of an important truth. Neoconservatism is not so much a set of strict doctrines like school choice and enterprise zones, otherwise the *Weekly Standard* would have cheered Steve's campaign and the *Wall Street Journal* would have become the Forbes Daily.

That didn't happen because, for neocons, ideas and policies are merely a means toward the end of power, and especially the displacement of the authentic right, as represented by Pat's immigration, social, and anti-New World Order agenda, and Steve's anti-tax, anti-government agenda.

IV. Concerns About Pat

In his last column in the *RRR*, written in December 1995, Murray N. Rothbard praised Pat, and then worried about the possible direction that his 1996 campaign might take. Murray feared that Pat would emphasize only protection for American industries from foreign competition, and that this might overwhelm the rest of his hard-right message.

Indeed, Pat has succeeded in converting the slogan "America First" from an anti-interventionist rallying cry (as it was in the 1930s) into a call to cut off our trade with the rest of the world, as Jefferson charged George III with doing in the Declaration of Independence.

Pat's protectionism has evolved from wanting to save certain industries, as in 1992, to a full-blown theory of political economy, however unstudied. For example, he has suggested that high tariffs account for the prosperity of the 19th century, implying that low taxes, a free market, and sound money had little to do with it.

Pat likes to say "all four Presidents on Mt. Rushmore were economic nationalists" who favored "the industrial supremacy of the American nation." For my part, I hate Mt. Rushmore, which seems the height of state worship. Two great men's faces adorn it, but it's still almost blasphemous.

For neocons, ideas and policies are merely a means toward the end of power.

But let's see about the substance of Pat's claim. Lincoln's high tariffs helped start the war against the South, leading to mass murderer and the end of the republic of the framers, and Teddy's took the form of gross imperialism and the Bull Moose version of the statist, J.P. Morgan-controlled Progressivist movement.

But how is it possible to say that Jefferson, the classical liberal agrarian, favored the "industrial supremacy of the American nation"?

Washington's views were laid out in his farewell address. "Harmony, liberal intercourse with all Nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest," he said. The "Great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations is in extending our commercial relations to have with them as little *political* connection as possible."

There is nothing wrong, as Washington knew, with liberal intercourse with all nations, as long as we do not get politically entangled with them. Free trade allows business and the people to benefit from productivity and markets in other nations, while keeping politics out of it. Foreign trade, like domestic trade, is not about warfare between peoples, let alone between "capital" and "workers," but about voluntary interaction toward the mutual betterment of everyone.

Pat raises the objection that many of the Constitution's framers favored tariffs. But a tariff (a tax on imports) can be used for one of two purposes. The first is revenue, and the framers preferred this to the tyranny of an internal tax. In order for the revenue tariff to raise money for the government, however, there must be extensive international trade. That's why we find pro-revenue tariff politicians like Jefferson also passionately advocating the ideal of free trade.

The other use of a tariff is to protect domestic industries from competition. In that case, its purpose is to curb imports as much as nec-

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essary to keep certain goods and services produced domestically, and not to raise revenue. The purpose of protective tariffs has always and everywhere been the same, as the Southern republicans knew: to benefit large industries connected with the government. This was the "tyranny unmasked" by John Taylor of Caroline.

Trade protectionism—and the imperialist counterpart of forcing U.S. goods on others countries—is a big-government idea and economically destructive to boot. If we're looking for corporate welfare, we need look no farther than the U.S. Trade Rep's office. Tariffs, import quotas, anti-dumping laws, and the entire litany of interventions that keep prices high, government big, union goons employed, ancient factories creaking along, and big corporations on the dole, ought to be knocked down with the rest of the interventionist state.

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Trade provides outlets for entrepreneurial skill, competition for investment, and access to markets among populations not as heavily taxed as our own. It is thus one of the many means by the which the free market restrains the ambitions of government.

Shut off from outside trade, an economy finds itself increasingly mired in inefficiencies, low production, and high prices. Permanently cut off from buying and selling in the best markets available, American business would suffer, while wages and standards of living would decline even faster than they have thanks to other government interventions.

We're told we can't trade with areas that have low wages. Does that mean that Mississippi shouldn't trade with Oregon? If companies want to move to low-cost labor areas, they will do that with or without free trade (or is there a plan to stop them by force?). Does Pat want to raise wages abroad? Free trade is the only means. Is he proposing to lower wages here? That doesn't square with his appeal to union members. Is he proposing to lower labor *costs* for business here? That requires scrapping welfare programs like subsidies for not working and the minimum wage, which he is on record as wanting to increase.

When Pat talks about the sad state of small and medium-size business in this country, or the 20-year decline in wages and income, he blames foreign competition. What about the obvious culprit? Through taxation, regulation, mandated benefits, and civil-rights legislation, the central government has done vast harm to the American economy. We're getting poorer because the government is getting richer and more powerful.

Unfortunately, a person who doubts the merits of international markets for capital and consumer goods will eventually—and logically—begin to believe that domestic markets do not work either, and need the guidance of a strong hand.

There are complaints that AT&T laid off 40,000 employees, as if that formerly regulated and protected dinosaur should be forced to lose money or retain make-work jobs. Is a company morally obligated to keep every middle manager on the payroll until death do they part? Besides, if we are to love smaller business more than bigger, how can we object to such corporate "downsizing"?

In fact, no one but AT&T knows how many employees the company is supposed to have, and its decisions are determined by the competitive marketplace. Similarly, in Iowa, there were complaints that large pig farms are outcompeting small pig farms. Are we to believe that free enterprise is incapable of managing pig farms to their proper size? And that government is?

Last year, Pat's agenda seemed fairly moderate: an across-the-board tariff against all imports of some 10 percent. That's high, but not deadly. Yet as the campaign has progressed, he's expanded his program. One day he talks about 20, 30, and even 50 percent tariffs on Chinese goods (on grounds that China threatens Taiwan). The next day, he proposes cutting off all flower imports from Latin America. In a *New York Times* op-ed, he even calls for an "equalization tax": high tariffs on low-labor cost countries. This is indistinguishable from central planning, and as unworkable.

The president already has far more authority over trade than he should. Clinton has used the power in an imperialist fashion: demanding that Japanese consumers buy more Chrysler cars and Kodak film, demanding that China adopt Hollywood-approved patent and copyright laws, etc. Pat has not only cheered these policies; he has promised to step them up and extend them to every country in the world. Whatever happened to "isolationism"?

These days, it's hard to find a consumer good at any department store that doesn't rely on some imported item or labor at some stage in its production, to the benefit of the consumer, whom no ones seems to remember. And foreign trade is all the more important at a time when government is restricting and hindering the domestic economy.

Then there is the fact that Western economies are increasingly unstable, ridden with debt, racked by welfare costs, and kept alive by inflationary finance. It's not unreason-

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able to assume that our economy is living on borrowed time. That means that a depression, which could wipe out much of what's left of the American middle class, is all too possible.

Pat's proposed polices could be the catalyst for such a depression. How would President Buchanan respond? By radically freeing markets, slashing taxes, cutting the welfare state, and imposing sound money? Or would he take the FDR/Nixon route?

There's a deprecation of economics among some on the right. Just why is it, Hans-Hermann Hoppe has wondered, that so many paleocons feel they can sound off at length on economics without any real background, much less formal study? In economics, unlike history or literature, they presume that no one need read the masters, the "dead Austrians."

Pat's proposed polices could be the catalyst for a depression.

Yet the immutable laws of economics are not as accessible as the natural law, which is written on our hearts; economics must be studied, understood, and applied. This century in particular has shown us the consequences of politicians and intellectuals who think they can use the government to violate and even repeal economic law.

V. Our Future

The Beltway conservatives who have controlled opinion on the right for forty years have been nowhere in sight throughout the campaign. Their issues have not been central nor have they been able to dictate the terms of debate, let alone the candidates. Their monopoly has been shattered, and their supposed power to make or break elections has been exposed as a hoax.

The floodgates of radical opinion have been opened, and what it was once forbidden to discuss (outside the pages of the *RRR*) is finally in the open, even among mainline Republican voters. The masses now say what Old Right libertarians have said all along: we are living under tyranny when it is our birthright to live under freedom.

How magnificent that Pat's and Steve's campaigns have helped this along. In Pat's case, it is the right to own guns, the right to inherit some wealth, the tyranny of the judiciary, and the evils of the New World Order. In Steve's, it is the moral and economic urgency of large tax cuts, the evil of "revenue neutrality," the possibility of ridding ourselves of the Social Security incubus, the virtues of hard money, and the social possibilities offered by a capitalist economy. Woven together, these themes represent a magnificent vision of American freedom.

Our immediate task is to pry loose the wedge that the media are trying to insert between "economic conservatives" and "cultural conservatives." In reality, these are two facets of the same cause. By destroying the Beltway's status and returning all power to the states and the people, as the 10th amendment demands, we address the major cultural problem in this country, which is the government-sponsored poisoning of the culture and the government-driven breakup of family and community.

At the same time, the end of the welfare-warfare state will create, *de facto*, a free market, where we can trade with whom we please, keep what we earn, associate with whom we choose, and put our trust in a dollar that cannot be depreciated by the government's central bank.

To restore the peace and prosperity of the Old Republic, there is no shortcut to keeping the focus on the real enemy, which is always and forever the federal Leviathan.

Anatomy of a Hit

by Paul Gottfried

The dismissal of Sam Francis has occasioned much speculation. As an essay by John Cloud in the *Washington City Paper* (1/19/96) makes abundantly clear, Francis has become a hated figure for neocons and liberals. Though an award-winning journalist with a national following, he has not been allowed onto TV programs with mainstream conservative commentators. His former assistants now surpass him in public exposure and in the perks that come from being "moderately opposed" to the left. Sam has a reputation for never pulling punches on social issues, and he has always reserved his hardest love for self-described conservatives who reason with the left but never with those who stray one millimeter to their right.

Not surprisingly, the conservative movement—a.k.a. the kept opposition of the center left—has for the most part, welcomed Sam's firing. Though *National Review* offered the opinion that the *Washington Times* may have gone too far, obligatory mention was made of the "hysterical" tone of Sam's polemics. Meanwhile the president of AEI weighed in with the view that Sam as a "racist" fully deserved his fate. This accusation was intended to deflect attention from Christopher DeMuth's own protege, Dinesh D'Souza, who has drawn fire from liberals for the same indiscretion. Both DeMuth and D'Souza trained their fire on Francis for self-preser-

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vation, to keep liberal friends from noticing the far more blatant insults against blacks contained in D'Souza's controversial book *The End of Racism*.

At the same time, another, previously unknown champion of respectable conservatism was devoting his life to destroying a leading paleo journalist. A twentyish foundation assistant Greg Forster drafted a letter to the *Wall Street Journal* published there on December 1. Forster expressed outrage at the "racist" statements that he found in the assorted speeches and columns of Sam Francis, and he took comfort from the fact that the task to which he had devoted his still young life was already being fulfilled. He had succeeded in his "one-man crusade to get this guy kicked out of the conservative movement."

Sam's proposal largely replicated the one offered by the U.S. Communist Party.

Despite his zeal, Forster was wrong on three counts. He had not been alone, even in his own office, in waging a crusade against Sam's career. Others had participated in the same crusade, with even more success. Moreover, Sam had never belonged to the "conservative movement" as Forster understood that term: that is, advocates of global democratic imperialism.

Finally, there is no evidence from the documents that Forster points to that Sam is venting racial hate. Both the accused and Rabbi Mayer Schiller, who attended a conference in Atlanta during the previous spring at which Sam supposedly uttered his most offending comments, provided a point-by-point refutation of Forster's brief printed in the *Wall Street Journal* on December 20. Though Francis had spoken of the possibility of racially-based political communities within a federalized country, he emphatically opposed the degradation or segregation of one race by another. Indeed his proposal largely replicated the one offered by the U.S. Communist Party for more than half a century.

Like the Communists, Sam spoke up for partial political autonomy for American blacks, while insisting, like the Communists, that the same arrangement also exist for non-black Americans. In this respect, Sam might have noted, his neocon-liberal critics have become even more collectivist than the American Communists. In their integrationist fanaticism, liberals and neocons would force the races together through administrative policy. Such a course has already resulted in increased race hatred.

As judged by Cloud's article, liberals and "moderate" conservatives have even more demanding litmus tests for political sanity. The attacks on Francis in Cloud's report are not simply about imprudent statements of opinion. Francis, we learn, "bashes" blacks, immigrants, gays, and welfare moms because of what he is, a bespectacled, heavyset, chain-smoking hermit without friends. It is Cloud, one feels, and not only his liberal and neocon interviewees, who hold this opinion of Sam's personality: "To the extent that he was ever discussed, he was dismissed as an extremist," the "intellectual equivalent of a militia nut."

As a close friend of Sam who does not live in Atlanta (where his only possible friend, Lew Rockwell, is supposed to reside), I can testify to the falseness of Cloud's characterization. Sam clearly has many friends, including a lady friend of many years, and possesses one of the funniest personalities around. But even stranger than the insinuations about his sanity is the kind of evidence adduced for his emotional problems: we are told that Sam advocates "ethnic partition" for South Africa, once called for releasing Mandela from custody on the grounds he was "ailing," opposed the Arthur Ashe memorial now being erected in Richmond, and criticized the motor voter bill.

He also believes that the Confederate flag should continue to fly atop the state capitol in South Carolina if the state's residents want it there; and he thinks the Southern Baptists should not be apologizing for the ownership of slaves by their pre-Civil War coreligionists. Having looked at this brief of indictment, I can find nothing pathological or even particularly rightwing about any of the stands attributed to Francis.

The Cloud-neocon-liberal attack on Sam Francis is aimed at positions, which, though defensible, are no longer politically correct. Ten years ago M.E. Bradford noticed that the neocon occupation of the Right had "closed off" most of the critical distance between what used to be opposite sides of the spectrum. By now there is no distance between the two; and the respectable right now runs around pushing its own variations on leftist themes. Sam's failing was that he did not follow suit here.

Another one of his follies seems to have been the failure to endorse the Arthur Ashe memorial. This caused considerable discomfort. In fact the publisher of the *Times*-funded magazine *The World and I* considered Sam's remarks here to be genuinely "embarrassing." "All the people in my shop were upset. They felt they would get tarred with the same brush." *The World and I* publisher then noted that there are "certain limits beyond which you don't go. If you say that Hitler is the greatest statesman of

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the 20th century, you're going to be fired." Though Sam never made that particular comment, his critic "can imagine him doing it." On the basis of this fevered exercise of imagination, Sam had "crossed the line" and deserved to be fired.

The Ashe incident does prove the rigid limits of liberal-neocon political orthodoxy. There is no compelling moral or aesthetic reason that a bronze likeness of a black tennis star in a sweat suit should be stuck amid monuments to Confederate leaders. The only conceivable reason is the one that Sam gives, to change symbolic associations in a way acceptable to the American political-journalistic elite.

As a victim of AIDS (who really died because of the obstacles initially imposed by gay activists to culling out infected blood donated by homosexuals), and as a black political liberal, Ashe represented quite different values from those associated with the creation of Richmond's Monument Boulevard. Though there should be a place for a statue of a great tennis player as well as one of Robert E. Lee, there is no justification for having both statues on Monument Boulevard, except to highlight an ideological change. The South will only be allowed to continue to memorialize its past if it can also accommodate the current liberal ascendancy. On this point Sam is entirely correct, and there is nothing "extremist" about his underlining of the obvious.

From Cloud's essay it is obvious that Sam's youthful adversaries keep meticulous records on his activities. Forster has been filing his speeches and remarks and by now has a voluminous dossier on someone he plainly hates. He has performed this labor while on the staff of the neocon Center for Equal Opportunity. An undistinguished think tank run by the neocons' official Hispanic, Linda Chavez, and funded by the usual foundational suspects, the Center would be an appropriate place for digging up dirt. In fact it is hard to see what other purpose it might serve, except as a money funnel for Chavez and her staff. Note that no one is arguing, as far as I know, that the CEO was chiefly responsible for getting Sam fired. In any case there is not enough evidence at present to demonstrate that charge.

Neocon think tanks exist, among other reasons, to ruin the careers of paleo critics.

What can be safely assumed is that neocon think tanks exist, among other reasons, to ruin the careers of paleo critics. They do not simply ignore authentic conservatives. As part of their raison d'etre, they set out to destroy perceived opponents on the right. Since the early eighties neocon operatives have accused the Old Right of being jealous of their success. The Old Right, we are led to believe, has stayed out of political dialogues because no one has thrown funds in its direction.

The reality is altogether different. The neocons and their allies have excluded paleo spokesmen from any public discussion of political issues and taken even stronger measures against those enjoying national followings. What happened to Francis typified this by now familiar course. By disagreeing from the right with the neocon-liberal hive and by subsequently attracting attention, Sam made himself a marked man. He also behaved indiscreetly in granting an extended interview to a homosexual advocate newspaper.

Like M.E. Bradford, who spoke honestly to the *Washington Post* while being considered for the directorship of the NEH, Sam should have known better. But even allowing for this faux pas which came from his overly trusting nature, Sam became a moving target from the time the neocons decided to go after him.

The way they did this illustrates their changed method of execution. Such work is now usually delegated to underlings like Forster and his two CEO colleagues, Jonathan Miller and Linda Chavez. Unlike the campaign against Bradford in the early eighties, neocon hits nowadays come from below. That way the capifamiglia avoid direct implication and can run their operations without noticeably bloodstained hands.

The expressions of surprise at Sam's fate by David Frum and Bill Kristol show the same sincerity as Lucky Luciano did in testifying before the Senate about the death of the gangland rivals. The remark by young Kristol quoted by Cloud that other people "overestimate neocon influence" could only have come from a grade-B Mafia movie. It is too much of a cliche for the better kind of gangster flic.

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A Fifth Column

by Justin Raimondo

Polls show that Americans are opposed to the Bosnian intervention more than 2-to-1: yet the president usurped the Constitution and—with the help of Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich—sent 20,000 American troops into the Balkan quagmire. A clue as to why can be found in the power of the Bosnia Lobby.

George Kenney, in *The Nation*, blows the cover off the lobby, writing that "much of the early war was fought not on the battlefield but through high-powered (and high-priced) lobbying firms." There has also been an effective corps of "journalists, think-tank analysts, Capitol Hill staff and administration hawks" pushing the Bosnian case. "The result is that everywhere that counts in America, it is almost impossible to be too anti-Serb."

The ink on the Dayton accord was barely dry when the neocons came out with a full-page ad in the *New York Times* hailing the intervention. Their front group is called the American Committee To Serve Bosnia (ACSB), the activist arm of a well-financed lobby that includes the nonprofit "nonpartisan" Balkan Institute, whose letterhead reads like a Who's Who of CFR types and militant do-gooders: Albert Shanker, Norman Podhoretz, Richard Perle, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, Hodding Carter, Henry Louis Gates, Saul Bellow, Susan Sontag, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Frank Carlucci, Walter Cronkite, and Bianca Jagger.

The ACSB, and something called the "Action Council for Peace in the Balkans" (chaired by Hodding Carter), not content with having achieved their goal of massive U.S. military intervention in Bosnia, is gearing up to make sure our stay is a long one. In a letter to supporters announcing ACSB's third annual "Grassroots Conference on Bosnia and the Balkans," held February 3-4, 1996, in Washington, D.C., director Stephen Walker warned Committee supporters that, "we have entered a new and potentially tragic phase of the Balkan conflict." He does not mean the tragic inevitability of American lives being lost, but the prospect that the Dayton accord will lead to Bosnia's "ultimate partition or extinction as a state."

This is what it means to be the agent of a foreign power: to place the interests of another country, above one's native land.

This is what it means to be the agent of a foreign power: to place the interests of another country, in this case Bosnia, above the interests of one's native land. Americans have a right to ask these Bosnia-Firsters if they have registered as such, as required by law.

Naturally enough, the ACSB invited the Honorable Sven Alkalaj, ambassador off the fundamentalist Bosnian regime to the U.S., to be the keynote speaker. Also featured was Mira Baratta, described in the program as "Foreign Policy Advisor, Officer of Senator Dole."

A whole brace of organizations, all of them stuffed with Establishment figures of various sorts, has suddenly sprung into existence: the Balkan Institute (founded in May 1995), the ACSB, the Action Committee for Peace in the Balkans (apparently a special group designed to appeal to the left), and even a student activist organization with the crudely propagandistic name of "Students Against Genocide."

The ACSB and allied organizations are carrying out a two-pronged assault by bringing pressure to bear on the President and members of Congress, and by spreading Bosnian government propaganda to make their case to the general public. There is apparently no lack of money for all these activities. Whether or not the Bosnian government or some of the Arab states are financing the Bosnia lobby, either overtly or covertly, the links between the Izetbegovic regime and its American cheering section are fairly brazen.

One of the signers of the full-page *New York Times* ad, neocon national security maven Richard Perle, a former Reagan Defense official, served as a "consultant" to the Bosnian Muslim government during the Dayton negotiations. The Bosnian lobby is also pouring campaign contributions into pro-interventionist congressional candidates of both parties. Most of all, these agents of a foreign power are determined to defeat those brave Republican freshmen who stood up for America and defied their own sell-out "leadership" by voting to deny funds to the Bosnia intervention.

Their response should be a congressional investigation of the foreign lobbyists whose job it is to drag us into war. Slick publications, a scholarly institute, high-priced public relations firms, and an army of bought-and-paid-for intellectuals: the first question such an investigation must ask is *who is paying for all this?*

The mere exposure of these foreign agents will do much to lessen their influence. A congressional investigation, should also come up with proposed legislation. Ideally, this would include a ban on all efforts by foreign governments to influence U.S. policy. Let the investigation begin!■

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